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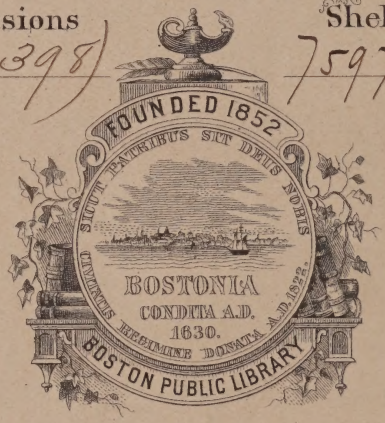

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QUESTIONS OF THE HOUR.

ILLITERACY AND MORMONISM.

ILLITERACY AND MORMONISM

A DISCUSSION OF

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION AND THE UTAH PROBLEM

BY

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True Statesmanship builds for the future: with laws well made, a Nation is half governed

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ILLITERACY AND MORMONISM.

THE SUBSTANCE of the following papers, was originally contributed to the pages of *The Princeton Review.* The comments of the press upon the position assumed by the writer, and upon the arguments advanced in support of his views were unexpectedly favorable. The result has been an extended correspondence with legislators and others interested in the subjects treated, and many requests, prompted by newspaper quotations, for the statistical or other information presented by the writer. It is in view of these facts, and of the present interest in the topics discussed, both in and out of Congress, that the papers are republished.

The writer takes this occasion to say that in the period which has intervened since these views were presented to the public, nothing has occurred which gives him occasion, in any serious degree, to modify them. On the contrary, he finds in the conditions now observable the strongest possible evidence in support of his propositions.

For example, by bringing into comparison with the statistics of 1880, those of 1882, it is seen that the writer's conclusions are most completely sustained by the more recent data. In regard to the amount of Federal aid required by existing exigencies in the Southern States, he lays great emphasis upon the fact that the sum proposed by the Blair Bill, aside from the questionable methods of its proposed bestowal, is in excess of existing needs, however great these may be. That his position is correct would seem to be amply proven by the fact that the total expenditures for public school purposes in the Southern States, as shown by comparison of the statistics of 1880 and 1882, for the two years indicated, increased to the extent of about three million one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, or more than twenty-nine per cent.: an increase as creditable as it is significant, and which is

many times in excess of the growth of the school population. There can be no clearer indication of the rapidly increasing ability of these States on ordinary grounds to provide for their own educational necessities. This fact is certainly worthy of consideration, in connection with other facts found upon the following pages (as, for example, that indicated on page 24), in regard to the comparative expenditures for public instruction in certain of the New England as compared with the Southern States.

That there is, notwithstanding the hopeful signs everywhere manifest, a lurking danger sufficiently grave to warrant the attention of the Federal government, will be manifest to the careful observer. The following table, placed in comparison with that presented on page 15 will convey its own lesson. The political perils growing out of a preponderating element of ignorance in the suffrage, are still imminent, and where they exist, undoubtedly afford a constitutional warrant, under wise and wholesome limitations, for Federal intervention.

States.	Total Vote, 1884, Pres. Election.	Number of Votes necessary to have changed results.	Per cent. of whole No. of votes necessary to have changed results.
Alabama,	153,551	16,727	10.9
Arkansas,	125,936	11,082	8.4
Delaware,	29,950	2,036	6.4
Florida,	60,030	1,980	3.3
Georgia,	142,450	23,500	16.5
Kentucky,	275,880	17,379	6.3
Louisiana,	109,345	8,100	7.3
Maryland,	185,785	5,759	3.1
Mississippi,	120,019	16,600	13.8
Missouri,	441,070	30,000	6.8
North Carolina,	267,247	9,600	3.6
South Carolina,	91,623	24,096	26.3
Tennessee,	259,468	4,670	1.8
Texas,	318,293	68,000	21.3
Virginia,	283,060	3,802	1.37
West Virginia,	319,935	5,100	1.4
The Southern States,	3,183,642	248,521	7.8

The practical failure of the Edmunds Bill as an unaided means of solving the Utah problem, justifies the statements made in the paper upon that subject. The writer is clearly of the opinion that it is chiefly by provision for the proper use of the

ballot, for the direction and control of immigration, and for the proper management of the public schools in the Territory, that Congress may most efficiently and beneficently exercise its power in the cure of the evils which exist in Utah.

With the disfranchisement of women, the increase in the number of loyal and law abiding voters which could easily be secured by favorable legislation, and the gradual growth of an already existing healthful sentiment in the Mormon community itself, legislative power in Utah — and with this power, a large degree of the strength of that which is obnoxious in Mormonism — would soon pass into safe hands. Such a policy is preferable to that of a wholesale disfranchisement of the loyal as well as the disloyal, not only as being more republican, but as being less likely to involve the government in a long and bitter quarrel with a fanatic population.

There is food for thought in the following words of a well-known journalist: "There are a hundred million dollars lying in our Treasury, and we do not know what to do with it. The Nation ought to undertake the work of public education in the National Territories. It ought to do it instantly and vigorously. * * It ought to put a public school in every city ward and every considerable village. It ought to equip them with the best appliances and the best teachers. It ought to fling their doors wide open to every comer. *It ought to take all the local educational tax from the Mormon hierarchy, and add it to the resources of such a public school system.* It ought not to teach any religion, Mormon or Gentile; it need not; but it ought to teach its pupils to doubt, to question, to think for themselves. The parental instinct is stronger even than a hierarchy. The appetite for knowledge is invincible, even by superstition. It would not be necessary to establish a compulsory system; it would be enough to establish a free one. The New West Commission has proved that. Their Gentile schools are filled; the Nation's schools would be crowded. The *Mormon immigrant has known the United States only as an enemy. It is time that we taught him that the United States is his friend.*

"We have tried the prohibitory and repressive methods long enough. They have failed. They will fail to the bitter end. The longer they are tried the worse the result. It is time to inaugu-

rate a change; to work on the Christian plan, to overcome evil with good. If we put liberty and education into the Territories now dominated by Mormonism, liberty and education will solve the Mormon problem. We can leave the Mormons to bring over their ships-loads of immigrants unhindered by us, so long as they bring them to a community which we have made free and enlightened. We can leave them to build their Temple, so long as we overtop it with the schoolhouse and the college. We can leave them to preach their superstitious liberalism, if we invite the ready minds of the oncoming generation to demand rebelliously a reason for the faith and the fear that are preached to them.

"To organize liberty and education for the darkened Territories of the great Sonthwest is the task of the statesmanship of to-day."

The Mormon vote in 1882 was 23,251 out of a total vote of 28,159. Of this vote, basing the estimate upon the number registering, the female voters were slightly in excess of one half of the entire number of Mormon suffragists. The disfranchisement of women would therefore (the relative conditions remaining unchanged) reduce the total Mormon vote at least one half. The non-Mormon vote is now equal to considerably more than one fourth of the whole number of Mormon male votes; or with the disfranchisement of Polygamists, equal to nearly one third of the legitimate Territorial vote. To increase the proportion of the non-Mormon vote from one fourth or one third of the total vote to a little more than one half, will obviously lead to the ultimate solution of the vexed questions now at issue. These facts would seem to be an ample confirmation of the conclusions presented in the following pages.

It is proper to add that in these pages the writer presents his personal views, and does not profess to represent the sentiments of the Inter State Commission on Federal Aid to Education, of which he has the honor to be secretary.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION.

ONE of the distinctive features of government in the United States is the peculiar adjustment of Federal and State relations which permits the exercise of supreme central authority, while preserving the essential autonomy of the State. The governing power thus constitutionally reserved, by each member of the Union, is accompanied by corresponding obligations for the meeting of which the functions of the State, under ordinary circumstances, are not only to be exercised, but are supposed to be sufficient. It may happen, however, that a State is powerless, either to control evils without, which affect its own citizens, or evils within, which affect the citizens of other States, or both. In view of such contingencies, when the Union was formed, powers larger and broader than those of any one of the States, by the action of all, were delegated to a central government, which, within defined limits, should have jurisdiction over their combined territory,—to use the language of an early writer,—"for the conducting of such matters of general concern" as "equally relate to all the parts."[1]

That perils arising from the social and political evils engendered by ignorance, under given conditions, may present an exigency of the character thus clearly contemplated, and therefore justify Federal interposition, is doubtless the belief of the majority of intelligent men in Congress and elsewhere. But even when the warrant of the Constitution and all applicable precedents are urged in its favor, there ought also to be a clear understanding of the conditions, present or prospective, which warrant the interference of the National Government in affairs ordinarily so plainly beyond its province.

[1] Preface to "The Fœderal Constitution." J. Debrett (London, 1795).

In considering this subject it is to be borne in mind that the extent to which the Federal Government may be concerned in an exigency affecting given States is a question apart from the exigency itself. The interest of the nation, legally rather than sentimentally considered, and the nation's responsibility, in a given case, are properly limited by the degree in which the exigency is in effect national and not purely local. An exigency which vitally concerns both local and general interests may confront the people of New York, and be so clearly subject to the control of its own legislative and civil authorities as to make Federal interference neither necessary nor justifiable. On the other hand, a contagion in the ports of Louisiana may provide an exigency, not only of vital importance to the citizens of that State, but of such general concern as to demand the prompt interference or assistance of the national legislature. Interferences in affairs within a State for the purpose of checking the spread of cholera and yellow-fever, of which we have many examples; for the purpose of checking contagion among live-stock, a matter which has just furnished occasion for heated debates in Congress; and in the matter of education as a cure for the evils of ignorance, are acts similar in kind so far as the prerogative of the National Government is concerned. In the first instance, the justification for Federal action is in the danger to human life; in the second, the danger to property; and in the third, the dangers arising out of conditions which afford nourishment for social, industrial, and political evils,—any one of which, while largely localized, may unquestionably affect the general welfare through the interdependence of the States, and the necessary intimacy of their relations.

What the nation may constitutionally do in meeting one of these dangers it may do in meeting all: neither more nor less. The limit of its prerogative in this respect is clearly defined by its repeated action in emergencies where human life has been endangered by contagion. While such perils may, and will, prompt speedier action on the part of a legislative body than those which affect property, or more remotely threaten social and political interests, there is no justification in the Constitution for Federal action in the one case which does not exist in each of the others. This truth is clearly indicated in

the words of the only warrant for such action, found in section 8 of its first article, as follows: "Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States." There is nothing here which authorizes Federal legislation in the interest of human life, and denies similar action with reference to the protection of property, or the maintenance of a status of integrity in the body politic, the destruction of which would make life less enjoyable or property less valuable. If this interpretation requires support, it may be found in the Federal Bankrupt Laws; the Fugitive-Slave Acts; legislation relative to National Banks and Inter-State Commerce; the statutes intended to give force to the Fourteenth Amendment; grants for the benefit of institutions for the deaf, dumb, and blind; the bestowal of aid to schools established under direction of the Freedmen's Bureau; and provisions for the alleviation of widespread suffering caused by sudden calamities. In connection with these and many other Federal enactments may be found precedents which not only justify the interpretation of the Constitution indicated, but often point to one far broader. Whatever inconsistencies may appear in legislation of the character referred to, we discover one significant fact: that in exigencies in any State analogous to those arising from the presence of contagious or infectious diseases, the policy of the government has been reasonably uniform and consistent. These acts interpretative of the Constitution therefore embody the most authoritative definition of the limits of the Federal prerogative in any exigency affecting the general welfare. A proper examination of the constitutional grounds thus afforded for the Federal Aid to Education which its advocates have so zealously sought would certainly have provided a justification for their claims, and, it would seem, must long ago have commended them, if wisely presented, to the approval of Congress. Unfortunately, their arguments have been based too much upon the supposed precedents afforded in Federal action with reference to land-grants for educational purposes. It seems not to have occurred to them that in the bestowal of these grants Congress had in view no such conditions, either as to the need of aid or the methods of its application, as are con-

templated in the present emergency; they were not intended to avert imminent danger, nor did they contemplate direct drafts of enormous sums from the Federal treasury to be chiefly expended for any reason among selected States. But aside from being inapplicable, these so-called precedents are suggestive of results in view of which, if there are no better grounds for such action, Congress may well hesitate to bestow the aid now sought.

These results will appear from an examination of the records of the States in which the munificent land-grant endowments provided by the nation have been partly or wholly misappropriated or squandered. It is not the part of wise statesmanship to ignore the teachings of the past; and the fact that we are in the midst of an era of good feeling must not be permitted to blind the eyes of our legislators to the truth that the States into whose hands the nation is asked to so trustfully commit enormous sums of money include the greater number of those in which spendthrift use has been made of former bounties, as shown by the printed reports of their own school-officers. That there have been similar, altho less extensive, abuses in certain Northern and Western States does not affect the adverse argument, which is the only applicable one, derivable from the precedents so inopportunely cited.

It is also to be regretted that claims for Federal aid to education have been based to such an extent upon the mere statistics of illiteracy, and upon such statistics so inconsiderately presented, as to be misleading. Illiteracy, in the abstract, as related to the population of a State, is a matter of State and not National concern; nor can it become a proper subject for Federal legislation until the conditions which it fosters take the form of aggressive evils, which not only affect society within the State, but, working outward through the relations of the State to the Federal Union, affect the general welfare. The matter of the increase or decrease of illiteracy is, therefore, important only in so far as it is directly related to the increase or decrease of the evils which it originates.

It may thus happen that while illiteracy has actually decreased in amount its evils have increased, and *vice versa*. That arguments based upon its mere statistics may be mis-

leading, and are in themselves no justification for Federal interference, is evident from the following tables.

TABLE I.

States and Territories.	Number unable to write.		Increase or Decrease.	Number unable to write in each 1000 of total population.	
	1870.	1880.		1870.	1880.
Southern	4,159,216	4,715,395	Inc. 556,179	300	255
Eastern and Middle	712,074	699,369	Dec. 12,705	58	48
Western	676,948	714,841	Inc. 37,893	57	44
Territories	64,643	84,575	Inc. 19,932	238	139
District of Columbia	28,719	25,778	Dec. 2,941	218	145
United States	5,641,600	6,239,958	Inc. 598,358	146	124

It will be seen that in the Southern States, in spite of every obstacle, such as inability to provide sufficient educational privileges, and regardless of the increase of over half a million in the aggregate of illiterates, the number of illiterate persons in each one thousand of the total population shows a decrease for the decade of 45, as compared with 10 in the Eastern and Middle States, 13 in the Western States, 99 in the Territories, and 73 in the District of Columbia. Turning to the individual States of the South, we find that the number, and the decrease in the number of illiterates in each one thousand of the population, was as follows:

TABLE II.

	Ala.	Ark.	Del.	Fla.	Ga.	Ky.	La.	Md.	Miss.	Mo.	N.C.	S. C.	Tenn.	Tex.	Va.	W.Va.
1870	384	275	185	382	396	251	379	173	378	129	371	411	289	270	364	184
1880	343	252	132	298	337	211	338	144	330	96	331	371	266	198	285	138
Decrease.	41	23	53	84	59	40	41	29	48	33	40	40	23	72	79	46

These figures clearly show that arguments as to the growth of illiteracy based upon the increase of a half-million in the aggregate of illiterates, however startling or impressive, when the corresponding increase in population is taken into account, are wholly misleading; the conditions to which they point being the reverse of true. Illiteracy in the Southern States has in reality diminished in the last decade to an extent, and under such circumstances, as to warrant the expectation that its decrease, augmented with each succeeding decade, will at no very distant day place these States, in respect of the matter in question,

where the Eastern and Middle States now stand. For example, should the decrease per 1000 from 1870 to 1910 average 75, the number of illiterates in each 1000 of population in the Southern States in the latter year would be but 48. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that under normal conditions these States may, within a single generation, reduce their illiteracy to the present average in the Eastern and Middle States of 48, or that in the Western States of 46, in each 1000 of population.

Obviously the mere statistics of illiteracy, indicating results in the abstract so hopeful, cannot be regarded *per se* as evidence of an emergency requiring Federal interposition. But the actual element with which we have to deal is not mere ignorance, which in the abstract may not legally concern the nation, but the results of ignorance as they affect the general welfare. This distinction, from a legal point of view, is as plain and as worthy of consideration as that between poverty and vice and their results. However these may affect the individual, so long as they do not lead to acts directly influencing the public welfare they are confessedly matters with which even the individual State assumes to deal only through efforts equitably applied in the promotion of thrift and morality. It must not be forgotten that ignorance, in common with the many evils which it fosters and those with which it has no connection, not only cannot be legislated out of existence, but must be regarded as a permanent factor in the body politic. Wise legislation, intended to lessen its evils and prevent its growth, is undeniably the right and duty of government. But such legislation under ordinary conditions, by the plain terms of the Federal compact, demands the exercise of State and not National functions. The early policy of the Federal Government in this respect was a consistent one ; and every departure from it has been the source of evils in view of which the resulting benefits have afforded no adequate compensation. Federal enactments setting apart lands within the Territories for the creation of school-funds, the policy instituted in 1789, were legitimate measures, because they affected domains under the immediate jurisdiction of Congress. Grants for similar purposes, made to States as such, have not only given ground for grave constitutional objections, but, as we have seen, with the lax political morality engendered by the unguarded bestowal of Federal bounties, have led to notorious

abuses, in themselves sufficient to make the continuance of the latter policy a matter of more than doubtful wisdom. Under ordinary conditions, therefore, there can be no sufficient reason for Federal grants, either in lands or money, for purposes of education within the States; and claims for such grants not grounded upon evident and extraordinary necessities, and which are supported by precedents of more than doubtful authority, may well be denied.

We come now to the question, Have the evils resulting from ignorance (considered apart from the mere existence of ignorance) assumed such proportions as to create an exigency demanding the exercise of the extraordinary powers contemplated in section 8 of the Federal Constitution. An emphatic answer to this question, not to mention others, is found in two specific evils, the one a corrupted suffrage, and the other idle, lawless, and vicious elements, weaned from honest labor, and which are a menace to good government and a dangerous barrier to industrial progress.

An indication of the power lodged in these elements as now arrayed in hostility to the common weal at the ballot-box and in the avenues of trade, may be found in the following table, collated from the returns of the Tenth Census:

TABLE III.

States.	Males of voting age unable to write.	Per cent of whole number of males of voting age who cannot write.	Total vote Presidental election 1880.	Number of votes necessary to have changed results.	Per cent of whole number of votes necessary to have changed results.
Alabama	120,858	46	151,507	17,423	11½
Arkansas	55,649	30	106,229	9,560	9
Delaware	6,742	17	29,333	586	2
Florida	23,816	38	51,618	2,219	4⅓
Georgia	145,087	45	155,651	25,000	16
Kentucky	98,133	26	264,304	21,772	8¼
Louisiana	102,932	47	97,201	15,817	13½
Maryland	46,025	19	172,221	7,739	4½
Mississippi	111,541	46	117,078	21,000	18
Missouri	59,683	11	397,221	27,805	7
North Carolina	124,702	42	241,218	4,321	1⅞
South Carolina	106,934	51	170,956	27,352	16
Tennessee	105.549	31	241,827	10,398	4⅓
Texas	92,754	24	241,478	49,502	20½
Virginia	131,684	39	211,996	6,454	3½
West Virginia	22,885	16	112,713	5,635	5
Total Southern States	1,354,974	32	2,762,551	252,583	9⅛
" East. & Mid. "	243,654	6	2,965,147	82,043	2⅞
" Western "	272,289	6	3,475,338	186,684	5⅜
" Territories	28,723	13	100,801	8,061	8
Total United States	1,899,640	15	9,303,837	529,371	5 7/10

As here shown, a change in the votes of Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia, amounting in round numbers to a total of 52,000, would not only have placed the executive control of these States in other hands, but would have altered the electoral vote by the number of 49, many more than sufficient to have changed the National administration.

The fact that the control of but a small fraction of the illiterate suffrage in the States named would have secured such important changes, and, with unaltered conditions and a full vote, may be depended upon as a means of determining the controlling political power in these States and in the Nation in future elections, in view of the startling developments of the campaign of 1876, and the less open but significant efforts for the improper control of votes in 1880 and subsequently, in several of the States named, must certainly be regarded as indicative of a perilous state of affairs. It is a matter of little consequence which political party is affected by changes secured through corruption of the suffrage, since the peril to the general welfare lies not so much in such changes, in themselves, as in the means used to effect them, and the success of which to its extent is a shameful and dangerous subversion of popular government.

The existing conditions in the Southern States are more pregnant with evil to-day than in 1876, when they gave rise not only to intrigues and corruptions affecting the control of individual States and the National Government, but to results which threatened the peace of the nation. The politician, as a teacher, has been in advance of the schoolmaster. Whatever else they have failed to learn, ignorant voters begin to appreciate the fact that their ballots are of importance in determining political results; and rapidly increasing numbers of such are found willing, for hire, to serve the ends of unscrupulous managers as pawns upon the political chess-board.

These ignorant voters, hitherto massed chiefly within a single party because through that party came emancipation and enfranchisement, held together by fear of re-enslavement and by loyalty to a sentiment, have possessed, and in many instances exercised, a power which they have lacked the wisdom, if not

the disposition, to use wisely, and which has been turned to the advantage of political adventurers and the despoiling of humiliated and helpless States. So long as overwhelming elements of ignorance thus threaten to lift the standard of misrule, there will inevitably exist conditions disturbing to the public peace and perilous to the general welfare; and should there be a mere change in the political affiliation of these elements, peace-disturbing and perilous conditions will continue to exist. Thus, whenever the negro, besotted in ignorance but taught to place a mercenary value upon the ballot, shall vote without restraint and at the behest of the highest bidder, we shall see the color-line in politics obliterated and the so-called "Solid South" broken: but following these results, instead of a wholesome change, we may expect to find rival parties conducting a shameless traffic in a corrupted suffrage. If, as has been claimed, and as is probably only too true, many of the leaders of the colored race, illiterate men whose ready tongues are uncontrolled by fixed principles, and whose "little learning is a dangerous thing," can be induced by flattery or bribery to conjure at the shrine of the Moloch of Political Corruption in the garb and with the authority of a sacred office[1] it is not to be supposed that the masses who are below them in intelligence and morality will be beyond the reach of mercenary influences.

The serious political evils which we have outlined, and which may so vitally affect the interests of every citizen of the Republic, in themselves not only afford justification for, but demand the unhesitating exercise of, every power which the Nation may lawfully employ in defence of the common welfare.

There are, however, other conditions, traceable to a like origin in the dense ignorance of great masses in the population of certain States, which equally justify the interposition of the Federal Government.

From the statistics of the Tenth Census relating to occupations, by an analysis closely approximating accuracy, we derive the facts presented in the following table:

[1] As a single indication of the drift indicated, a prominent State official in one of the Cotton States said, not long since, in the hearing of the writer, "We have discovered a better way to control the colored vote than by intimidation . . . We have only to buy up the negro preachers."

TABLE IV.

SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, BY GROUPS OF STATES.

STATES.	Population of the age of ten and over.	Agricultural proprietors.		Unskilled laborers: all classes.		Engaged in the professions.		Engaged in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining industries; trade and transportation, including proprietors and expert employees.	
		No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
Southern.....	12,783,612	1,888,906	14.8	3,272,407	25.6	226,912	1.8	938,045	7.4
Western.....	12,123,874	1,698,621	14.0	1,767,872	14.6	344,278	2.8	1,640,881	13.6
Eastern & Middle	11,270,090	693,717	6.2	1,559,675	13.9	366,185	3.2	2,690,145	2.4
Territories.....	584,031	65,433	11.2	103,014	17.6	36,212	6.2	99,796	17.1
Totals.....	36,761,607	4,346,677	11.8	6,702,968	18.2	973,587	2.6	5,368,867	14.6

It will be seen that the excess of unskilled laborers in the Southern States as compared with the Eastern and Middle States is 11.7 per cent, and as compared with the Western States 11 per cent; while the number of their citizens employed in the commercial and industrial pursuits named in the table is 16.6 per cent less than in the Eastern and Middle, and 10.4 per cent less than in the Western, States. While the difficulty of drawing an exact line between skilled and unskilled labor makes an entirely complete and satisfactory classification impossible, the Census statistics plainly show that the number of unskilled laborers in the Southern States is in excess of 3,272,000, or more than a quarter of their entire population of the age of 10 and over. The number of those engaged in agriculture in these States, including proprietors, tenants, and all tillers of the soil, constitutes a percentage of the population referred to of 14.8, or a percentage slightly in excess of that similarly employed in the great agricultural States of the West, and 8.6 per cent less than that thus employed in the Eastern and Middle States. Careful investigations, supported by statistics, indicate that, at a low estimate, not less than 500,000 of those engaged in agriculture, and most of them negroes, must, in respect of special fitness for the occupation, be classed with the great body of other unskilled laborers, by whom (however little encouragement may be drawn from the comparison) they are surpassed in

intelligence and enterprise. With this addition, the total of unskilled laborers in the Southern States is increased to more than 3,700,000 out of a total engaged in all of the commercial and industrial pursuits named of about 6,100,000; or, if we add the number of those pursuing professional callings, out of a total of 6,326,000. In other words, in these States the number of unskilled laborers included in the total of those reported as engaged in all occupations is in excess of one half by more than 500,000, and equal to nearly 30 per cent of the entire population of and over the age of 10.

To appreciate the significance of these facts, it must be borne in mind that the industrial change in the South, little short of a revolution, now in progress, is compelling an almost complete re-organization of the activities of this immense area. A rapid increase in the number of landholders by deed or leasehold, due to the partition of plantations; changes in agricultural methods; the phenomenal developments in manufacturing industries, are all conspiring to create a demand for labor of a kind and quality hitherto needed only in small degree. Inexorable conditions require that this demand shall be met promptly; the necessary material, in crude condition, is at hand; every consideration of expediency suggests the desirability of utilizing it, and every effort is being made on the part of the employer to do so. Nevertheless, the demands of the South for labor of the kind required, under present conditions, is not and cannot be met. The explanation is simple. The intelligent, progressive spirit which is working a transformation in all other respects has thus far influenced the ignorant and unskilled laborer, for the most part, only to the extent of making him restless and discontented. Free from the exactions of ante-bellum days, labor weds itself to indolence, and exerts itself only to the extent necessary to meet the more ordinary of every-day needs. There is a general absence of the industrious application in special fields of industry which leads to skill; and while there is thus little real progress in the conditions necessary to the betterment of his condition, the laborer subjects the employer to exactions and caprices, and hangs like a drag upon the wheels of progress. This condition of affairs can end only in one of two ways: the Southern laborer must meet the demands of the new South, by

becoming fitted to its uses, or, to the extent required, it will supply its needs otherwise, and do without him. So serious has this problem already become, that in many instances, some of the most notable of which have come under my own observation, laborers whose industry and skill can be depended upon have been imported in colonies from abroad. This serious question, only beginning to attract attention, unless speedily solved, will soon overshadow all other problems affecting the welfare of the Southern States. Every addition to a laboring population, already excessive, is an addition to what may become an army of malcontents, whose power for mischief, under the inspiration of the prejudices and passions born of ignorance and poverty, and the direction of demagogues, will be exercised to the detriment of every public and private interest—political, social, and industrial.

That the conditions thus sketched in outline afford exigencies which justify the Federal interference, invited alike by the patriotic and thoughtful citizens of the States directly and indirectly concerned, is undeniable.

The remedy for these perils is plainly suggested by the fact that they have their source in ignorance. Ignorance must be displaced by intelligence, and this must be the work of education—and education applied with special reference to industrial necessities.

The fact that the Southern States by their unaided efforts have accomplished so much in the direction of educating their ignorant population, and at a point where their abilities are exhausted are met by an exigency like that now existing, is assuredly not only a ground for Federal action within the warrant of the Constitution, as interpreted by the indisputable precedents established as we have seen under analogous conditions, but an occasion for prompt and willing legislation. If it may legitimately interfere, in the face of such evident dangers, why has Congress so long withheld action? While apathy, and engrossing attention to legislation affecting selfish interests, may be assigned as among the reasons for the neglect by our National legislators of this as well as other matters of National importance, their inaction, in the present instance, may be attributed in large degree to the fact that those who have directed

the efforts to secure the legislation desired, have not been fortunate in the framing of measures or in the presentation of grounds for their adoption. In the respect last named, as we have indicated, the question has been needlessly complicated by the importance attached to previous legislative acts, not only irrelevant but antagonistic to the action desired, while there has been an obvious failure to sufficiently emphasize the only valid ground for such action—the existence of an exigency not only within the warrant of the Constitution, but analogous to those clearly recognized so to be. In the respect first named, the framing of measures for the bestowal of the desired aid, those approved respectively by the Senate and House Committees of the last two Congresses, have been vitally defective in the following essential particulars: (1) as to the amount of aid; (2) as to the limit of its continuance; (3) as to provisions for its proper application. As to the amount of aid sought, each of these bills (the one providing in the first year $10,000,000, and the other $7,000,000) have contemplated at the very outset the bestowal of a fund of such magnitude and under such conditions that few, if any, of the Southern States could or would put it to wise or proper use. They have in effect proposed to put the Federal Government in the attitude of saying to many of these States: We expect you to expend for school purposes within a year from a given date (say June, 1884) a fund, which we will put into your hands, equal to twice or thrice the amount you are now expending from your own school revenues, and which shall be spent, not in place of, but in addition to, these revenues.

In the enactment providing for Federal aid which in 1884 passed the Senate, among other amendments in the direction of a wise exercise of the power in the premises which Congress may legitimately exercise was one reducing the initial sum to be bestowed from $15,000,000 to $7,000,000. While it cannot be urged against the bestowal of the sum last named that it will provide in many States an amount equal to twice or thrice that which they themselves now expend for school purposes (as $15,000,000 would have done), it is nevertheless a question whether even so large a sum as this can be wisely expended in the first year.

TABLE V.

States.	To be apportioned by House Bill, waiting action.	To be apportioned by Senate Bill as enacted.	Amount of final appropriation, Senate enactment.	Amount as per statements following.	Amount expended for public-school purposes in 1880.
United States	$10,000,000[1]	$7,000,000[1]	$5,000,000[1]	$4,071,190[2]	$79,339,814
Alabama	694,631	526,339	347,316	332,790	430,131
Arkansas	323,750	217,810	161,875	166,672	382,637
Delaware	31,112	24,040	15,556	10,034	172,455
Florida	128,499	99,814	64,250	59,090	117,724
Georgia	834,005	634,945	417,003	402,810	653,464
Kentucky	558,324	367,003	279,162	265,862	1,025,659
Louisiana	510,228	422,619	250,114	209,556	373,081
Maryland	215,527	158,333	107,263	67,952	1,117,145
Mississippi	598,083	448,632	299,042	274,580	679,475
Missouri	334,544	197,325	167,272	156,946	3,092,332
North Carolina	743,555	522,990	371,777	346,772	328,717
South Carolina	592,709	457,399	296,354	270,900	308,230
Tennessee	658,213	560,605	329,107	330,098	634,587
Texas	507,106	364,212	253,503	258,976	713,908
Virginia	689,671	512,432	344,835	290,016	716,153
West Virginia	136,821	73,975	68,410	64,994	527,090
Southern States	$7,556,878	$5,588,473	$3,778,439	$3,508,048	$10,755,588
Other States and Ter.	2,443,122	1,411,526	1,221,561	563,142	68,584,226

Should the amount of Federal aid granted be $4,071,190, the average amount received by the Southern States would be, in round numbers, equal to one third of the entire sum expended by them, from their own resources, in 1880, while in the States of North and South Carolina and Louisiana the sums on the one side would very nearly equal those on the other. That the National Government can, in wisdom or justice, properly expend for school purposes in these States in any one year a larger sum than the one indicated is a matter of grave doubt; and yet the Senate enactment at the outset would increase this sum by 75 per cent, while the House bill, with phenomenal prodigality, would increase it by nearly 150 per cent. Examining more closely, we find that the amounts provided by the House bill in seven States exceed their school expenditures in 1880 by from twelve to sixty per cent, while those provided by the Senate enactment are also in excess of State expenditures in four States.

If it be urged that the school revenues in a majority of the Southern States have largely increased since 1880, this increase, if it has exceeded in proportion the increase in the population

[1] Distributed on the basis of the whole number of illiterates, including adults.

[2] Distributed on the basis of $2 per capita for each illiterate of the age of 10 and under the age of 21.

of school age, only adds force to the arguments which may be urged against lavish Federal appropriations.

In effect, for a greater or less period, under the terms of these measures, the Federal Government, in several States, will be called upon to assume the major support of the public schools, the States in question being graciously permitted to retain the privilege of contributing a moiety of the school-fund expended within their borders, and under such accommodating conditions as to make it possible for whatever officials are in control to adjust even this amount, in large degree, to suit such uncertain standards as they shall themselves create.

In the serious work which lies before the citizens of the New South,—the substitution of intelligence and thrift in the wide fields occupied by ignorance and idleness,—the development and exercise of their own abilities, under the influence of an honorable spirit of self-dependence and patriotism, is of more importance than any money aid which can be bestowed from the overflowing treasury of a paternal government. That would be an unwise exercise of Federal generosity which would in any degree break down the patriotic, independent local spirit upon which the success of the public-school system must chiefly depend. To stimulate and encourage this spirit should be the first object of Federal aid; and it should be prevented, with jealous care, from passing the limit beyond which its bestowal will supplant and destroy it, by removing the incentive to private effort, and by providing a temptation to official corruption.

That the smallest of the sums named in Table V. would be sufficient to meet the present needs of the States engaged in a contest with ignorance is not only evidenced by the progress which they have made in their brave struggle within the last decade, but by the measure of the financial aid proposed as compared with their own expenditures, and which will represent, as translated into force, an addition to that now in use of one third. To properly utilize this added force will require new schoolhouses, more teachers, the kindling of the sentiment which brings these, and other materials, into form and shape, and arrangements for that wise supervision as the result of which the machinery of the school system shall be adjusted to

the successful application of the increased power. That two dollars per capita for each illiterate, excluding adults, will provide a sum sufficient for this purpose, is best evidenced by what it will accomplish.

The whole number of public schools in the United States in 1880 was 225,880, of which 72,465 were in the Southern States. The entire expenditure for public schools in all the States in the same year was $79,339,814, of which the Southern States expended $10,755,588, or an average amount for each school of nearly $150.

If National aid should be bestowed in these States to the amount of $3,508,048 (see Table V.), and should be devoted wholly to the establishment of new schools, at the average named above, it would provide for 23,386 such schools in a single year, or an average for each State of one less than 1500. As the average number of public schools in the sixteen Southern States in 1880 was 4529, an average addition of 1500 would be equivalent to the planting of one new school for every three now existing. On the other hand, if the amount of aid named be used for the better support of existing schools, the average expenditure per school will be increased by the sum of $48.50, or to a total amount of $198.50 per annum, which is within $18 of the average sum per school expended in Maine, $13.70 less than in New Hampshire, and $24.20 more than in Vermont. While it is undoubtedly true that the sum expended in the three States named is insufficient for the best interests of education, if the Federal Government shall assist in the immediate establishment of schools, in their sister-States of the South, which shall be maintained at equal cost and approach these in usefulness, it will certainly have done all that it can be reasonably asked to undertake.

If it be thought wise, however, in view of the importance of securing the resultant benefits at the earliest possible moment, to extend Federal aid in such degree as to enable the States to provide for the better support of schools while establishing new ones (which would be a concession on the side of liberality), an increase of the amount bestowed per capita of illiterates between the ages of ten and twenty-one, amounting either to fifty cents or to one dollar, would add to the sum named $2,035,595 [a

total of $6,106,785] or $1,017,797 [a total of $5,825,214], the latter of which amounts probably, and the former of which certainly, would represent an additional expenditure as large as would be on any ground justifiable.

To secure the proper application of this aid, it should be apportioned, not upon the basis of the entire number of illiterates, which would include 4,204,363 adults who are beyond the reach of common-school instruction, but upon the basis of the number within its reach. These, as nearly as determinable from the published statistics of the Census of 1880, are the illiterates of the age of ten and under the age of twenty-one years, numbering in the United States 2,035,595, and in the Southern States 1,754,024. Whatever aid is extended should also be apportioned among the several counties[1] of the States, payable in drafts upon the U. S. Treasury, or in such other manner as shall secure to each its proper share of assistance—a precaution which would serve to protect the funds from misuse, and to the adoption of which there can be no valid objection, since the moneys are to be expended in accordance with State laws. The Federal enactment should in this connection provide for the withholding of aid from any county not complying with such wise terms relating to its use as it may seem proper to enact, the State officials to be the judges in such cases, and to have authority to devote funds thus withheld, under approval of the Commissioner of Education, to Normal-school or similar purposes.

Beginning with an appropriation of two dollars per capita, in view of the probable ability of the States to then wisely use an increased sum, Federal aid could, if deemed expedient, be annually increased fifty cents per capita of the illiterates before referred to, reaching a maximum sum of $7,016,096 in the fifth year, after which it should be annually reduced fifty cents per capita, with which amount per capita, a total for the Southern States of $877,012, it should also end. By this policy the aid would be so gradually withdrawn as to enable the States growing in prosperity to supply without serious difficulty, from their own

[1] The bestowal of a stated sum per capita of illiterates, as in the fourth column of Table V., will make apportionment among the counties a simple matter.

yearly increasing revenues, the amount required to maintain and advance the efficiency of their public schools.

The bills to which attention has been directed are alike fatally defective in the item of the (ostensibly) final appropriation. By the provisions of the Senate enactment, this appropriation, at the end of ten years, is to be $5,000,000; and by the provisions of the House bill, at the end of six years, $10,000,000. From what sources are the States expected to supply the large deficiencies thus suddenly to be met? After ten years' enjoyment of the prodigal bounty of the Nation, if it shall cease with an appropriation of $5,000,000, will there be cheerfully added to the local budgets, in a single year, an increased school-tax in Alabama of $347,000; Arkansas, $161,000; Georgia, $417,000; Kentucky, $279,000; Louisiana, $250,000; Mississippi, $299,000; North Carolina, $371,000; South Carolina, $296,000; Tennessee, $329,000; and Virginia, $344,000? And if these deficits are sufficient in amount to arouse serious question as to the ability or willingness of the States to meet them promptly, what may we expect if they are doubled in amount, as proposed by the terms of the House bill? There can be but one answer to these questions. In either event the States named (and is not this the expectation of some of the interested advocates of these measures?) will come again to the National Treasury with the plea that a continuance of Federal aid is essential in order to save their school systems from sudden collapse. If they shall then obtain aid on grounds which have not the validity of those now presented, conditions intended to be temporary will be made permanent, and the dangerous precedent established by unwise legislation will begin to bear fruit.

There is also to be noted, in the measures referred to, an absence of such simple and wholesome provisions as are required in order to secure the proper expenditure of even a fraction of the amounts which they would bestow. Apparently influenced by the sentimental consideration that to accompany the bestowal of Federal aid, with safeguards for its proper use, would be a reflection on the integrity of the States, or an impertinent interference in their domestic concerns, it is proposed to make the conditions so generous as to leave the widest margin for its misuse at the hands of careless or corrupt officials.

There ought, surely, to be no question as to the right or duty of the National Government, in an emergency which demands the expenditure of Federal moneys for the general welfare, to exercise the same authority in arranging for the proper disposition of its aid which it exercises in its bestowal. And the States most deeply interested, in view of the delinquencies of their trusted officers in the past, and the contingencies suggested by the possible control of political machinery through the corruption of ignorant voters, ought to regard with satisfaction, and to accept without cavil, such safeguards as are calculated to ensure the wise use of the school-funds provided from the National Treasury.

The willingness of the representatives of the States chiefly benefited to receive lavish appropriations whose bestowal requires the abandonment of doctrines with regard to the relative prerogatives of the Federal Government and the States, which they have hitherto held with tenacity, instead of leading the friends of good government to the adoption of a line of policy not warranted by the Constitution, or which may be productive of future ills, should put them on their guard. Nor should the unwillingness of any State to accept aid, on reasonable conditions, in the meeting of needs however pressing, win concessions from the friends of education, as the result of which their beneficent plans for the promotion of the general welfare may be defeated. If the evils of ignorance can be met only under conditions which shall invite others, hardly less hateful, Federal inaction may be the policy of wisdom.

Finally, as the aid bestowed, to be within the warrant of the Constitution, must contemplate the meeting of an evident exigency, its bestowal must be confined to those States, or parts of the Union, where such an exigency exists. While there may be difficulty in satisfactorily determining within what limits an exigency such as the Constitution contemplates may be said to now exist, it is safe to exclude the States whose illiterates constitute less than twelve per cent of the population. All of the States thus excluded are beyond doubt themselves abundantly able to care for their ignorant population, the chief part of which, it is worthy of remark, is of adult age. The portions of the Union included would then embrace the only area within

which there can be any justification for Federal interference, —the sixteen Southern States, the Territories, and the District of Columbia.

A measure embodying the essential features outlined, and free from the objectionable ones noted, would not only meet the exigency, but be in harmony with the various Federal enactments germane to the subject.

These, as we have seen, both in themselves and in the discussions antecedent to their adoption, have indicated a fixed determination not to transcend the limits of the National prerogative by any action which could possibly lead to the permanent establishment of a system which, under normal conditions, would infringe upon the proper functions of the States. The fear that such results might attend Congressional action, whenever Federal aid has been sought for the relief of any State or section in the presence of imminent peril, has roused the jealous defenders of the Constitution, and led to heated and sometimes acrimonious debates. This watchfulness, unquestionably wholesome in its effects, when the National bounty has been granted in the face of any pressing need, has with few exceptions led to its bestowal on conditions and under limitations which may be studied with profit at this time.

While it is to be hoped that no unworthy considerations, such as a desire to secure for any State appropriations which are either excessive or wholly unwarranted, will influence the members of the two Houses in the final action which they shall take in this most important matter, immediate assistance should be rendered to the ex-slave States in the development of an educational system suited to their political and industrial needs.

"Slavery," says Robert C. Winthrop, is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education." He adds, "Every year brings another instalment of brutal ignorance to the polls to be the subject of cajolement, deception, corruption, or intimidation." In the words of President Garfield's inaugural address, "All of the Constitutional powers of the Nation and the States and all the volunteer forces of the people should be summoned to meet this danger." But the Federal power exer-

cised to meet the danger must be stayed within the area where it exists.

Federal aid to education should, therefore, be devoted to the enlightenment of the negro, as the only lawful means by which to disarm this Goliath in the hostile forces which menace our institutions.

THE UTAH PROBLEM: WHY IT REMAINS UNSOLVED.

IN 1846–7, having been outlawed in the States where they had previously attempted to establish themselves, a motley company of men and women took up the line of march for a country where, it was fondly hoped, in the development of the peculiar ideas which formed their bond of union, they would be free from the unwelcome interference of law and public opinion. California, then a part of Mexico, was the Mecca of their hopes, and dreams of a Mormon empire upon the Pacific Coast consoled the followers of the so-called "Prophet of God" for the loss of the homes from which they fled, and the hardships of their wilderness journey.

A study of the elements composing this hegira would open one of the most remarkable chapters in the phenomena of social science. We should here find proof that however singular, revolutionary, or irrational, in the judgment of the average man, may be the views of any individual member of society, if the opportunity be given, as when such a person possesses the qualifications of a leader and the gifts of a propagandist, unsuspected elements will be in readiness to be moulded to them. The power which the self-constituted apostles of the most startling social and religious theories are able to thus exercise over so large a number of their fellows is not to be accounted for by any mere generalization; and to legislate against the errors into which men are thus led upon the basis of such generalizations is a grievous error. Erratic tendencies in the human mind are constitutional, and in minds possessing such tendencies there is the same inherent disposition toward homogeneity and association which is characteristic of other men. To account for the

existence of this erratic element, or to say why it is especially attracted to this or that particular error, is a problem in social science which need not be discussed in this paper. The element and the tendency exist, and we find the logical result in social evolutions like that which has for more than forty years presented itself for the study of the American people, and has resulted in an organization which has proven itself able to survive the repeated assaults of law and to grow strong in the face of an overwhelming adverse sentiment.

It is a matter of history that ten thousand or more men, women, and children, denied the protecting ægis of the law in the profession and practices of a faith which they claimed to be founded on the most conscientious convictions, began an exodus which was intended to place them beyond the reach of the statutes with which that faith was in conflict; that the land of promise which they sought became subject to the United States while they were journeying toward it; that they stopped in their course in a remote and uninhabited portion of the national domain; and, where mountain barriers and leagues of wilderness lay between them and those whom they regarded as their persecutors, resolved to re-erect the altar of their faith and to lay the foundations of a State over whose affairs they should exercise such control as to secure for themselves and their children immunity from the dangers threatened by adverse laws and hostile sentiment.

As we step back into history and look upon the legions which, thirty-nine years ago, poured over the Wasatch Mountains and descended into the fair valley below, what do we find them to be, and what shall we say of them? Are we prepared to weigh the motives which urged those beating hearts over a long and weary way into this wilderness with a judgment which shall be generous while it is just? A judgment which takes no account of the most trying and important period in Mormon history can be of little value; that based on mere prejudice is unworthy; and one founded on the strictest interpretation of the law, while legally just, may be most ungenerous. Those who would form a judgment of the members of the Mormon organization, which shall be in accordance with the canons of political wisdom and of Christian charity, are invited to look

upon these thousands encamped under the shadows of the Wasatch Mountains a generation ago. What of the men who have toiled with unmurmuring bravery for months, through dangers of ambush and storm and flood, on their westward way? are these all pretenders and knaves, or the willing dupes of such? Does this theory, or the idea of lust suggested by the doctrine of polygamy (subsequently announced, and never practised by more than a fraction of the Mormon population), afford a sufficient explanation of the spirit which animates this multitude to espouse a common cause, to accept obloquy and exile, and to meet the perils of the wilderness in the face of approaching winter? In this stubborn adherence to a common purpose; in this fierce battle with adverse circumstances; in this devotion to wives and children, do we find evidence to warrant the belief that the aged men, the stalwart husbands, and the youth of this great company are moved solely or chiefly by the lowest and basest of aims? These hundreds of gray-haired women in the passionless calm of old age; these many mothers with patient endurance bearing their part in the struggles of this strange life, and caring tenderly for their babes; these young wives adhering to the fortunes of their husbands; the maidens found in so many of these scattered groups,—are these representatives of womankind unreasoning bond-creatures or depraved women whose chief mission is to minister to the caprices and passions of base, hypocritical, and brutal men? Is all of this endurance of trial with a devotion approaching to heroism the outcome of charlatanism, hypocrisy, and libertinism? Are the prayers and hymns of these people nothing but a studied mockery cast in the face of heaven?

He who will answer these questions in the affirmative must be a blind student of nature and human history. To account for a socio-religious movement like that which led these ten thousand people into the wilderness, casting themselves upon the future with a faith or daring, however we regard it, equally wonderful, requires an inspiration based upon something deeper and stronger than the altogether grovelling and mercenary motives which suffice to unite the fortunes of those who are only adventurers or knaves. Whatever the honesty or sincerity of those who moulded the belief of these thousands into its eccen-

tric form, as they enter and take possession of Utah, they present the unmistakable evidences of a faith founded on sincere conviction.

Such was the beginning of the history of Mormonism in Utah. Imposition upon credulity there doubtless was; ambition, charlatanry, and lust, each may be supposed to have had its place; but nothing short of a belief to which men and women gave themselves without reserve could have accomplished the results seen, and only this, taken in connection with the mistaken policy of the government and the people of the United States, can account for the subsequent marvellous growth of the Mormon organization.

The Mormon population of Utah from about eleven thousand in 1850 had increased in 1880 to a little over one hundred and twenty thousand out of a total of nearly one hundred and forty-four thousand. In place of a wilderness we find a vast cultivated domain threaded by highways and railroads. The wild lands of 1846 in 1880 yielded a product in cereals of nearly two million bushels, and in precious metals a value of nearly $9,500,000. In the year 1882 (the only figures as to this item at hand) the total value of the assessed property of the Territory was $25,579,000. From the number of 13 only in 1850, the public schools of the Territory had increased in 1880 to 390, maintained at a cost, for all classes, of more than $200,000. And these results have been chiefly due to the enterprise and thrift of a people expelled as outlaws from Illinois, and who have been under the ban of the law during most of their sojourn in Utah.

History affords few examples of the growth, from such humble foundations, of a fabric, based on a religious idea, so important and so enduring as that which originated in the pretended revelations announced as made thirty-three years ago to one Joseph Smith, an obscure resident in a country town of Seneca County, New York. Born in 1830 of imposture and credulity; cast out from the place of its birth immediately after; driven in contumely from its refuge in Kirtland, Ohio; buffeted in Missouri, and driven to Illinois; baptized in the blood of the Nauvoo riots, and compelled in the beginning of its virile strength to fly into the wilderness, and there developing into what it is to-day; with whatever contempt we may regard its

origin, with whatever loathing we may look upon its accursed doctrines, we are compelled to confess that there is something in the Mormon organization which demands for its adherents, in spite of its abhorrent features, a degree of respect and consideration.

Had a policy based upon a reasonable degree of such respect and consideration prevailed in the Nauvoo era of the sect's history, is it probable that subsequent results would have been changed? And is it expedient to permit ideas of consideration and toleration to temper present dealings?

A picture, which we may doubtless accept as a fair one, of the Mormon Church at Nauvoo, was presented in the diary of the late Josiah Quincy, published in the *Independent* a year or more ago. His dispassionate judgment did not lead him to the conclusion so general in those days that the followers of Joseph Smith were for the most part cut-throats, marauders, and libertines; on the contrary, while finding in their fanatical ardor that which opposition might develop into a disturbing element in society, he credits them with qualities such as temperance, industry, and thrift, which are among the most important essentials to good citizenship. What if this eccentric community, with its commingled elements of good and evil, had been permitted to establish itself in Nauvoo, free to develop its theories, in so far as they did not involve illegal acts, and in so far as they did, amenable to the law, but without illegal or supralegal interference?

Individual eccentricity, in all well-ordered communities, so long as it does not lead to breaches of the law, is tolerated. If every man whose mind flies, at any given time, outside the even circle of ordinary thought should be adjudged a madman or condemned as an outlaw, the number of actual and hopeless madmen and outlaws would be so indefinitely increased as to involve society in a perpetual struggle with its erratic elements. Toleration not only prevents such results, but in the end has the effect of bringing thousands of erratic minds back to a natural and healthful course of thought and action. However delicate the questions which arise when we pass from the treatment of cases of eccentricity which are segregate to those which meet us in an aggregated form, the rule of toleration within the

limits of the law, whether judged from the standpoint of political wisdom, humanity, or Christian charity, applies here not less than in the case of the individual. The best safeguard against error and its results is the influence of truth; and the magnetic current of truth which mingles with the common-sense of the people in every circle of society, in a land like this, may be trusted, sooner or later, without the aid of means outside, or, in the natural course of things, extra proceedings within, the law, to prevent the propagandists of error, however they may associate, from doing serious injury to society. The truth of this statement is attested by the history of the many organized movements in opposition to the common-sense of the people, and in a greater or less degree obnoxious or illegal, which have sprung up in the United States, with boastful expectations, and under the influence of an orderly popular sentiment, supported by the impartial administration of the law, been irresistibly forced into conformity with law and public opinion, or driven out of existence.

The Oneida Community—a notable instance—during all of the Mormon controversy, in the midst of one of the most prosperous and intelligent communities in the State of New York, openly defied popular sentiment, and covertly transgressed the law, by the maintenance of a social system as abhorrent as that of polygamy. Its members were not mobbed, they were not terrorized in the name of the law, they were not driven into exile by persecution; and free contact with the healthful currents of the life about them has finally resulted in the disintegration of that portion of their social fabric which was maintained in opposition to law and the sentiment of their neighbors. If, by the exercise of mob law, the Oneida Community had been driven, thirty years ago, into one of the Territories, beyond the reach of the influences under which it is compelled to yield; and had for the greater part of that time had full opportunity for such growth as it could have secured, there is no reason for believing that the vicious features of its doctrines would have worked so little harm or been so soon abandoned.

Had the treatment of the Mormon community at Nauvoo been similar to that accorded to the community at Oneida, the irresistible influence of a hostile public sentiment, and of laws

humanely exercised, would undoubtedly have made the Mormon problem a matter of little concern. To assert the contrary is to assume that law is inadequate to the protection of a community from overt acts, and that the barriers of religion and morality are insufficient for the protection of an overwhelming majority against the contaminating influence of a generally despised minority.

We have said enough to warrant the statement that the people and authorities of Illinois are in a measure responsible for the development of a structure whose abnormal features, capable of but a sickly life, and destined to sure decay in that State, were driven to deeper root by persecution, and to free growth by exile. It is evident that the treatment of the Mormon organization by the government and people at the time of its permanent establishment, which dates from the Nauvoo period, was, aside from considerations of Christian charity and humanity, lamentably wanting in political wisdom.

We turn now to the subsequent period of Mormon history. Driven into the wilderness; incited to the fanatical adherence with which men characteristically cling to the doctrines which have made them the subjects of persecution; isolated from the surroundings calculated to modify, and finally to change, the drift of sentiment,—we find them in a domain wide enough for a kingdom, and practically as far from the seat of authority as if responsible to a power beyond the sea.

In the light of the fires kindled at Nauvoo, it would seem that statesmanship would have discovered a necessity for the adoption of measures calculated to restrain the tendencies toward evil evident in this virile and growing power on the nation's frontier, and to prevent it from developing, as there was plain reason to fear that it would, into a social organization adhering to a religious code, which must inevitably sooner or later bring it into open conflict with the laws of the land.

But where, in the records of Congress or upon the statute-books, is there any evidence of the really serious and statesmanlike consideration which this phenomenal social movement demanded? Here is a people openly seeking a refuge where

they will be free to disregard the popular opinion left behind them, and to transgress the laws of the government to which they owe allegiance. Are restricting influences provided? Does the government, in the exercise of its legitimate authority, assume quiet but unmistakable jurisdiction over its territory, seized and appropriated in advance of any form of title? Does it guard against the realization of the boasted dreams of extended domain and self-government entertained by this law-defying people, by erecting guards against undue encroachment on the public domain, and by providing a government with the necessary machinery for securing the impartial reign of law and order? Were provisions made which would encourage the immigration into this garden-land of any portion of the law-abiding thousands who were landing upon our shores, and whose presence in Utah would have been a bulwark against, and an ultimate cure of, the evils of Mormonism?

The facts are the best answers to these questions. First, we find that anomaly in American history, the hierarchical and independent government permitted for three years to act its own will, with graceless conformity to such federal laws as did not interfere with the plans of its leaders, exercising authority under the name of the "State of Deseret." Second, we find this illegal government in 1850, under cover of laws framed to suit the plans of men more astute than the members of Congress who blindly enacted them, cunningly overlaid by a "territorial government," beneath whose framework, as under the ribs of the wooden horse which decided the fate of Troy, were concealed and brought within the domain of recognized law—in the substance of the abrogated code of Deseret—enemies of good government sufficient to account for the present condition of Utah. Third, with a power strengthened because used under statutes approved by Congress, we see a government, as essentially Mormon as that of the so-called State of Deseret, established and continued to this day in the exercise of supreme executive, legislative, and judicial control throughout the Territory. Fourth, we see schemes devised and executed, with little opposition, by which the choicest acres of the Territory are converted into the property of the church and held for distribution among, and, prior to this, as inducements for the immigration of, converts to

the Mormon faith. By evading the provisions of government land-acts, for the above and other purposes, through the perversion of laws relating to incorporated towns and in every other way possible, we see the Mormons come into possession of an area vastly beyond the wants of their population, and including, as shrewdly prearranged for, so large a part of the arable soil of the Territory as to threaten the ultimate closing of the door to an immigration not welcome. Fifth, we find a system of public schools established under laws whose provisions are capable of being so construed as to debar non-Mormons from becoming teachers, and which, in violation of a fundamental principle of our government, are used for the propagation of religious tenets. Sixth, we find, as clearly evidenced in a letter addressed to the writer by John Taylor, the successor to Brigham Young, and the head of the church (published by him in the course of a controversy in the newspapers of Salt Lake City), a power entrenched which assumes to administrate the judicial laws upon the territorial statute-book, but which uses the trust to abuse it by the substitution of religious tribunals which, if not secret, are open only to the audience of the faithful. Finally, we behold in Utah, as represented by the managers of the Mormon organization, a power which is monarchical in its assumption and exercise of authority, and which believes itself strong enough to defy interference with its structure or its schemes.

And this is the outcome of national legislation as applied to affairs in Utah during the last thirty years! An absence of wise legislation in the beginning, then laws calculated to suit the use of those whom they should have controlled, and now a people of law-breakers waxed strong and maintaining an attitude of defiance to authority in the face of anathemas from the pulpit, objurgations from the press, and a hot fusillade of ineffective enactments from the halls of Congress!

In view of the facts, we venture to affirm that the responsibility for the present condition of affairs does not wholly lie at the door of the Mormon Church, and much less at the doors of those who constitute the mass of the Mormon people. The individual members of that church are for the most part, what ever the prevailing opinion may be, as sincere in their adher-

ence to the doctrines which have been accepted by their credulous minds as are the Hindus in their belief in the divinity of the Veda. An epidemic of error, like that which has seized upon their minds and turned them from normal conditions, is not a solecism in history. Instances where apostles of strange doctrines have led men captive by thousands, and held their minds in thrall for periods varying in length, will occur to every reader. Schisms and errors of all descriptions, from those which offend against ecclesiastical canons to those which outrage moral sentiment and transgress civil law, are a part of the strange ordering of affairs which permits evolutions in human thought as eccentric and unexplainable as the character of the erratic bodies which appear and disappear in the heavens. The more than fifty thousand men and women (actual adult members of the Mormon Church) who blindly follow the lead of the apostles of a religion whose doctrines are at variance with the laws of the land, merely present a marked instance of what has occurred many times, and may occur often in the future, when doctrines suited to the purpose are instilled into minds that need only the occasion to bring them into cohesion. In the light of the teachings of social science, the success of the Mormon Church is only phenomenal because of the circumstances under which it has been attained, and for these phenomenal circumstances, justice demands that the responsibility be laid at the door of the government and people of the United States.

A young oak may lodge itself by the foundations of our house. As the result of our apathy, preoccupation, or want of foresight, it may be permitted to grow deep into the soil, to obtrude its roots beneath our walls, and, as it grows upward, to afford support to a poisonous vine. Under the circumstances, when the oak's uplifting roots threaten a breach in the wall, and the vine exhales deadly poison, if house and occupants suffer, where does the fault lie? Surely the mischief wrought by the vital forces which some freak of nature has planted at our side, is to be attributed not so much to that which is inherent in the nature of things as to our own fault in not taking proper preventive measures at the right time. Nevertheless, it will be said, oak and vine must be hewn down. True, as to

the material elements which threaten our dwelling; but the simile, while it clearly indicates where the responsibility for their thrifty growth lies, does not apply when we seek a remedy for the evils wrought and threatened by the Mormon oak and its polygamous vine. Axe and fire are not the instruments with which to cure the ills which our own supineness, want of statecraft, and mislegislation, have permitted to burrow beneath the walls and to poison the air of the state. Proscriptive legislation may drive conscious outlaws into unwilling obedience to civil mandates, but if applied to fatuous transgressors who base disobedience on religious convictions, when they are represented in a union of thousands of consciences, may produce a contrary result by making outlaws of citizens enough to form a kingdom, and invite a struggle which, while it could have but one ending, would be as unwelcome, unwise, and inhuman, as unnecessary.

A government which is itself largely responsible for evils which it seeks to cure is in duty bound to consider well and act wisely in the application of remedies. But while the responsibility of the government and people of the United States binds them to the application of a cure for the evils invited which shall not be intolerant or inhuman, it does not forbid the use of effective remedial measures suggested by political expediency and in keeping with Christian charity.

The consideration of such measures may begin with the axiom, That to tolerate error where truth surrounds it is the best means for its destruction. But for its isolation from vital contact with truth, the evil in Mormonism would have long since sunk out of sight. The remedy of first importance, then, lies in the adoption of measures which shall bring the people of Utah into contact with truth as truth is represented in the healthful, permeating, conquering common-sense of the average American citizen. Such measures are not difficult of adoption. Notwithstanding the pre-emption of so large a portion of the best arable lands of the Territory by adherents of the Mormon Church, there is yet a large and fertile acreage open for settlement. To ensure the occupancy of these wide and inviting fields by thrifty, sturdy settlers opposed to the unlawful tenets of Mormonism, laws relating to grants may be so amended as

to prevent sales to those who are not prepared to prove their intention to become, without reserve, supporters of law and order. Still further to encourage immigration of the desired character, exceptional inducements in the acquisition of lands may be offered to American citizens disposed to engage in agricultural pursuits or in the development of the vast and inestimably rich mineral resources of the Territory. As the result of inducements and restrictions such as those indicated, it is safe to say that, in a brief time, the population of Utah would be surrounded with a battery of influences whose electric currents would act with irresistible force in hastening the establishment of a normal condition of things. Another essential step toward remedying the present evils is to secure for Utah a popular government, conceived and administered in accordance with the spirit of the laws provided for the governing of the people of the other States and Territories. To secure a government of this character, aside from certain changes in its present constitution, will require a law-abiding majority among the voters of the Territory. The total polygamous vote, assuming that in a contest between Mormon and anti-Mormon candidates the Mormon vote would be practically unanimous, is at this time, as nearly as can be ascertained, not greater, and probably less, than twenty-five thousand, while the anti-Mormon vote is about twenty-four hundred. Female suffrage accounts for, it may be safely assumed, one fourth of the vote first named, while it affects the latter vote to a degree scarcely perceptible. The disfranchisement of women would, therefore, reduce the Mormon vote to less than nineteen thousand, or to nearly the actual vote cast for the Mormon representative in 1880. It is evident, therefore, that the increase of the anti-Mormon vote by sixteen thousand five hundred would in a general election overcome the Mormon majority. Such a change would not, it is true, immediately deprive the polygamists of control in the Legislature, but its effect would be to introduce into it an element which would speedily make its power felt, which would afford active support to the Governor and his adjutants, and whose influence would soon divide the already dissentient Mormon elements, in so far as wise legislation relating to polygamy is concerned, by winning the co-operation of the vast and increasing majority of non-polygamous Mormons, while the introduction and natural

increase of such an element in the assembly would of itself lead to rapid and wholesome changes. A wide discretion left in the hands of the Governor as to the use of the veto power, and the appointment to that position of a man of requisite wisdom and integrity, would put it in the power of the executive to defeat any attempt at improper legislation. Finally, provision should be made by which the public schools shall cease to be used in the interest of a religious faith. This can be best accomplished, and the efficiency of the system at the same time greatly increased, by placing the office of Superintendent on the same footing with the other executive offices; its incumbent to be appointed by the President. The administration of such an officer, if he be properly qualified, and if he shall be supported by provision for the withholding of public funds from schools which instruct in matters of religion, and have also the power to veto the appointment of improper teachers; would so change the character of the schools of Utah as to make them efficient means for breaking down such of the influences of Mormonism as are pernicious, instead of, as now, a potent means for their propagation.

The application of these remedies would not interfere with the more essential features of the Edmunds bill. That that bill alone would fail to afford a solution of the Mormon problem was inevitable. Enactments whose enforcement depends, in the ordinary use of civil processes, upon favorable local sentiment, to be effective without the aid of something like martial law, must have the support of a sufficient modicum of the right sentiment. If this essential element is wanting, until it can be brought into existence, unwelcome enactments will of necessity be made operative with such difficulty, in the absence of military force or its equivalent, as to prove practically ineffective. The introduction of the law-abiding elements necessary to secure their enforcement would give validity to the best features of the Edmunds bill,[1] as to all other wholesome laws; would render the disfranchisement of actual polygamists less difficult; and obedience to the statutes would be increased accordingly. The continued absence of such elements in the population of Utah,

[1] Without attempting a discussion of the various provisions of this bill, it may be remarked that there is grave question as to the constitutionality of measures intended to exclude from juries those professing the Mormon faith.

aside from other considerations to which we have called attention, will in itself secure the comparative failure of the recent Congressional enactments as remedial measures.

In conclusion, the means now necessary for the cure of the existing evils in Utah may be summarized as follows: First, Congressional enactments which shall offer special inducements to an agricultural and mining population opposed to the law-defying features of Mormonism and which shall provide restrictions preventing further sales of government land to a population not of the character indicated. Second, the abrogation of the present constitution or such of its features as are designed for the benefit of Mormons, including female suffrage, and the substitution of laws not capable of such easy perversion in the interests of a law-defying organization. Third, the investment of the executive officers of federal appointment with the widest authority for the correction of abuses consistent with the spirit of our institutions. Fourth, a change in the office of Superintendent of Public Schools which shall make its incumbent a federal officer, and the placing of such power in his hands as shall secure the schools from danger of perversion, to use for illegitimate ends, by any class or sect.

The application of these or equivalent measures, with an allowance of sufficient time, must accompany attempts to enforce penal statutes like those provided in the Edmunds bill, or the enforcement of these statutes, in the face of a defiant population of one hundred and twenty thousand souls, may be expected to precipitate a conflict which will not soon terminate, will drive desirable settlers from the Territory, reduce its people to a state of active outlawry, and prove in other ways disastrous to the best interests of the Territory and the nation. The people, through their representatives in Congress, have before them three alternatives: that of applying remedies like those proposed or their equivalent; that of permitting the recent enactments, for reasons stated, to become nugatory while defiance to law shall continue; or that of subjecting the people of the Territory to a reign of military authority which shall kindle the fires of religious fanaticism, prevent desirable immigration, and continue for an indefinite period.

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